

Women Trafficking in the Turkish Cypriot Community

Prepared by:



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Introduction

This study was carried out between June – December 2006, in order to form a baseline study on the issue of women trafficking in the Turkish Cypriot Community. The study was carried out by Prologue Consulting Ltd, with additional help received from Ms Zehra Şonya, a well known artist in the TCC. Many people also deserve credit for this study whose names shall remain anonymous. This study was made possible through generous funding by the Bi-communal Support Program of the US Embassy.

This study only looked at the Night Clubs that operate in the Turkish Cypriot Community and concentrated only on the situation of the 'foreign' women employed at these premises. Nevertheless, as it can clearly be seen in the article 'Migrant sex workers and state regulation in North Cyprus' by Fatma Güven-Lisaniler, Leopoldo Rodriguez and Sevin Uğural (6 May 2005), there are many other places of 'entertainment' in the Turkish Cypriot Community (TCC) that deserve attention if one wishes to clearly portray the problem of women trafficking in the TCC. These include kahvehanes and pubs that serve as 'second class/lower income' brothels. We have not looked at these 'second class/lower income' brothels for the purposes of this study. That remains to be a much broader topic to be examined.

Methodology

This study was designed and carried out as a qualitative study of the issue of women trafficking. Initially all related secondary data was collected to lay the legal background and understand the workings of this sector. Additionally the TC press was monitored to capture any relevant details on the subject

After this initial step, the main method used was in depth interviews of direct and indirect sources using the snow ball technique. A total of 10 in depth interviews were carried out with foreign women employed at night clubs, in addition to 2 taxi drivers, 3 Turkish Cypriot men, 2 hospital employees, 2 members of civil society organizations as well as 1 night club manager.

The snowball technique is commonly used in studies where the topic of discussion is sensitive. In this method, the interviewer uses an initial contact who introduces him/her into the community to be studied, where different contacts from the initial contact are made. The women interviewed were either hired out of the night club or interviewed during health checks at the hospital.

Different public offices were also approached including the following:

- Basic Health Office
- 'Ministry of Interior'
- Police Department
- Town Planning Office
- District Attorney's Office.

Public offices were not as willing as private sources to provide information on this topic. Only the police department responded to our call for information.

In addition to in depth interviews, the study also involved observation of night clubs in order to infer some conclusions about the general development of the sector. As part of the observation method, the interview team entered 3 night clubs as customers, and visited all night clubs and took pictures from the outside.

Definition of Women Trafficking and related terms

Before we can talk about women trafficking in the TCC, we have to first look at the internationally accepted definition of this phenomenon. It is also important to distinguish women trafficking from prostitution. There is prostitution that takes place in the TCC, although it is legally forbidden to live off the earnings of prostitution, but that is not within the scope of this study.

The UN defines women trafficking as follows:

‘The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve consent of a person having control over another person for the purposes of exploitation.

Exploitation shall include at a minimum the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery servitude or the removal of organs.’

UN Convention against Transnational Crime (Nov 2, 2000)

Thus, for women trafficking to take place, the following need to be present:

- recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons
- by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits, and
- to achieve consent of a person having control over another person for the purposes of exploitation.

Two important characteristics of women trafficking cases are debt bondage and forced labor.

Debt Bondage is defined by the UN as:

‘status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined.’

UNHCR Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, article 1(a).

Forced Labor is defined by the ILO Convention No 39 of 1930 as:

‘All work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.’

Legal Background:

It is illegal in the TCC to live off the earnings of prostitution. Nevertheless, it is common practice for prostitution to take place in night clubs, where money is received in return. It is the general understanding of everyone interviewed in this study that the police and other relevant authorities know about this.

The legislation that rules over night clubs and such 'entertainment' businesses is the Legislation on Night Clubs and Other Entertainment Establishments, which entered into force on 28 January 2000. According to this legislation, a commission is created to deal with permits given to night clubs and other entertainment establishments.

The Commission is composed of the following individuals:

- ☐ Undersecretary of 'Ministry of Interior'
- ☐ The relevant District Officer
- ☐ Director of the Department of Immigration
- ☐ Director of the Department of Basic Health
- ☐ Director of the Department of Employment
- ☐ Relevant Municipality Director

The legislation dictates that the same person may not own more than one night club.

The following fees are charged to the night clubs:

- Annual Night Club Fee:
 - ☐ 1st class: 9 times minimum wage
 - ☐ 2nd class: 6 times minimum wage
 - ☐ 3rd class: 3 times minimum wage
 - ☐ Pub: half of minimum wage
- Establishment Fee:
 - ☐ Night Clubs: half of minimum wage
 - ☐ Pubs: 20% of minimum wage

Both permits are reissued every January. No extra permit is required from the Commission to employ 'hostesses' (consomatrices/artists).

In order to bring hostesses from abroad, the night club has to apply to the Immigration Office for a pre-permit. The pre permit is then sent to the woman, along with a ticket to Cyprus.

No hostesses may work at pubs (they are employed as bar maids!) This may pose another problem in terms of health risks for both the women and the society, since bar maids are not required to carry out the necessary health checks as hostesses but carry out the same services.

The maximum number of hostesses that may be employed per night club is 12. Night clubs are rated using a class system that is similar to hotel ratings. This system determines the number of women ('hostesses') that can be employed at the night clubs.

1st class: 10-12 hostesses
2nd class: 8-9 hostesses
3rd class: 5-7 hostesses

The procedure that has to be followed after the women are in Cyprus:

The first human rights violations take place when the women enter the TCC. From their point of entry, the women are taken by the employees of the night club (or sometimes taxi drivers paid by the night clubs) directly to the hospital. They are quarantined at the hospital for about 2 days where their health checks are carried out. For some women, this may be the first time they realize the true nature of their employment in Cyprus.

‘The women are taken from the airport, straight to the hospital where they are kept until all their health checks are carried out. Some try to escape from the window and we call the police.’ (Hospital employee)

After finding out what they will be doing at the night clubs, some women try to escape. This is not possible though as they are locked up at this hospital premise.

After the health checks at the hospital, women who are found to be ‘clean’ and disease free are sent directly to the Immigration Office of the Police Department. Those women who have sexually transmitted diseases are sent back. At this point, no one is sure whether the women reach their countries, or if they are simply re-routed to another destination. What is known for sure is that they are sent out of the TCC.

‘We don’t know whether they go back to their countries. We know that they leave Cyprus to go to Turkey.’ (Hospital employee)

At the Immigration Office, the passports of the women as well as their return tickets have to be taken for ‘protection purposes’. The night clubs then have to apply for a work permit for the women within 5 days of their entry into the country.

The women are then allowed to be employed within the working hours as defined by the Work Legislation (1992) and have to be present in the night club during these working hours. The official working hours of night clubs are 8pm to 2 am.

Hostesses may only work for a 6 month period starting from their date of entry into the country. After this period, they have to leave the country for 2 months. After 2 months outside of the country, the same woman may then re-apply for another working contract.

If the contract with a woman is terminated before the expiration date, the nightclub may not apply for a period of 3 months to bring in another hostess to replace the old one whose contract has been terminated. Nevertheless, if the woman willingly terminates her contract with the night club, then it is not necessary for the night club to wait for 3 months to replace her.

According to the legislation, the hostesses have to go through regular health checks at the hospital. Every night clubs gets assigned a day of the week, where they take all the hostesses employed at their night club to the hospital.

Similarly, the hostesses are assigned accommodation by the night club. According to the legislation, the accommodation for the artists must be separate from the night club.

Global Context

Throughout this study, it has been observed widely in the TCC that the definition of women trafficking is not known in the society. Foreign women who are employed at the night clubs are seen simply as 'prostitutes' and a danger to the moral values and integrity of the community. The simple fact that these women may be the victims of gross global human rights violations are simply ignored due to a lack of awareness or simple ignorance. This study hopes to add a new dimension to the discussion about night clubs in the TCC, where the human rights of women employed here are also taken into account.

It should be understood that human trafficking is a global problem and a human rights violation. The majority of victims are migrants in search of a better life. The International Labor Organization estimates that at least 2.45 million trafficking victims are currently toiling in exploitative conditions and that another 1.2 million are trafficked annually, both across and within national borders. (ILO Minimum Estimate of Forced Labor in the World) Of these, the majority (close to 80%) are women and children. Up to 50% of trafficking victims are children.

Human Trafficking is a global phenomenon that is driven by demand and fuelled by poverty and unemployment (UNFPA state of world population 2006, p. 45). The opening of national borders and international markets, due to globalization has led to an increase in international flows of capital, labor and goods as well as that of organized crime. The simple fact that there is demand for foreign women to be employed at night clubs in the TCC contributes to this global problem.

It is also estimated that the human trafficking industry generates a global annual income of \$ 7-12 million (US Department of State, 2004). This puts the human trafficking industry to third position in terms of 'lucrative illicit business' in the world after arms and drug trafficking.

The Case of TCC: Does Women Trafficking Exist?

The findings of this research lead to a conclusion that women trafficking exists in the TCC. Unlike the findings of the Fatma Güven-Lisaniler, Leopoldo Rodriguez and Sevin Uğural report on sex workers in North Cyprus, we can conclude with this report that women trafficking does go on in the TCC. I believe the different conclusions of these two reports are due to different interpretations of the definition of women trafficking.

The Fatma Güven-Lisaniler, Leopoldo Rodriguez and Sevin Uğural report states that:

‘So far our research suggests the latter to be the case in North Cyprus (migrant sex workers choose their occupation voluntarily) ... They had traveled voluntarily from their countries of origin to find sex work in more affluent societies.’ (p. 80)

Using the globally accepted UN definition of women trafficking, this report sees women trafficking as follows:

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve consent of a person having control over another person for the purposes of exploitation.

Exploitation shall include at a minimum the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery servitude or the removal of organs.’

UN Convention against Transnational Crime (Nov 2, 2000)

The findings of this research will be presented in the order of the definition of women trafficking, so as to show women trafficking exists in the TCC. The reason there exists misunderstandings and misinterpretation in the definition of the phenomenon of women trafficking is due to the fact that many women who are trafficked know from the beginning what they will be doing once they are at the destination country. This is mostly true for hostesses employed in the TCC as well.

‘6-7 years ago may be they would come here without knowing what they would be doing but now everyone in their country knows. Even their families know. I have had cases where the brother came here to sell a sister to us.’ (Night Club Manager)

‘Some of the people, when you call them, tell you the truth about what you will be doing when you come here, some tell you that you will be a waitress.’ (Foreign Woman 2)

Nevertheless, although many women know about what kind of jobs they will be doing once in the destination country, this does not rule out the option that we may be looking at a case of women trafficking. The two most recognizable characteristics of women trafficking are forced labor and debt bondage. We have seen both characteristics frequently through the interviews we have conducted.

Recruitment of Women

The recruitment of women for night clubs takes place in various ways. The main method preferred by night clubs in the TCC is to use their old 'employees'. Women who have previously worked in night clubs in the TCC either come back on another contract or recruit their acquaintances to work at the night clubs.

'I have been doing this work for 7 years now. I have had many people work for me. Every 6 months these women go back. I keep the telephone numbers of women I worked with in the past. If I have free space in the night club, then I call the women I worked with in the past or ask them for help to find me someone they know. You would find a woman easily. If not, there are many recruiters here... The idea behind this is simple: you work somewhere, you get a salary. If you are given the option to make more money, you would accept it. And this is the case for these women as well. And you try to help your friends as well and tell them about opportunities that exist. This is what these women do.' (Night Club manager)

From this interview with the night club manager, we have seen that women who have worked in the TCC in the past help recruit new women for their former bosses. Some women we interviewed also confirmed this.

'I have been approached by a friend of mine. These are usually girls who have worked here before. They tell us what we will be doing here, but they don't tell you everything. They say 'it is good'. Who would call this good?' (Foreign Woman # 5)

'I came here through a friend. I have good friends here who help me. I went to Syria for a while but the conditions were very bad. They are slightly better here.' (Foreign Woman # 4)

Another method used by night clubs is to find 'agents' in the TCC or directly in the source countries. These 'agents' recruit women from source countries using different methods such as ads in the paper.

'A lot of people in this community work as a recruiter. You call them and tell them you want X number of women and they get it for you. Right now I have 8 women working for me so I can find 4 more if I want to.' (Night Club Manager)

'I saw an ad in the newspaper, it said they were looking for girls between ages 18 and 30. Passport would be arranged and there was a telephone number. There are so many newspaper ads like that you just close your eyes and pick ' (Foreign Woman -2)

'There are many agents in Moldova who know all the bosses here. They arrange for us to get here and get paid a commission.' (Foreign Woman # 6)

'There are agents within the TCC as well. They work with recruiters in other countries (Moldova or Ukrain)' (Taxi driver- 2)

Some night clubs also recruit women through agents in Turkey. Women who work in the night clubs are shared within a trafficking circle. Some women interviewed have mentioned the fact that they have worked in many countries before, such as Turkey, Syria, etc.

‘These women generally have worked in Turkey, Cyprus, Dubai, Germany, Lebanon. This is what they do and they know about it. 6-7 years ago may be they would come here without knowing what they would be doing but now everyone in their country knows. Even their families know. I have had cases where the brother came here to sell a sister to us.’ (Night Club Manager)

Passports

There are conflicting reports on who keeps the passports throughout the period of the contract. In any case, it is clear that the women do not have their passports with them during their stay in the TCC.

‘It is the police or the boss that keeps the passports. We only have something like an ID because some hotels do not allow you in without an ID.’ (Foreign Woman # 5)

‘The boss keeps the passports’ (Taxi driver 2)

‘The police keeps the passports. The owner can not keep them. The police keeps them. In the past they use to keep their passports and they would escape. Anything can happen in the night club world. There is just too much that goes on. There is also drugs involved in many clubs.’ (Night Club Manager)

Debt Bondage

Many different interviews with different sources confirmed that debt bondage is a common practice in the TCC. There was also mention by one indirect source that women were being forced to sign documents that formalized this debt, but we could not get any information to confirm or deny this through other interviews.

‘Yes. If the woman wants to go no one can make her stay. Of course the owner pushes her to stay, but if the woman insists and says there is no way I am working here, it doesn’t matter how much debt she has, she would be let go. I mean the owner puts all the spending on her as a debt and she has to pay it off. But if the woman comes here and says she has come here to do something else and that she is not willing to do this job, she can leave.’ (Night Club Manager)

‘Well, they are free to leave but there are expenses associated with each women. There is the agents fee, all the fees for the government. I mean look at the government. They give permits for 40-50 night clubs. They know what is going on here. They take 100,000 -200,000 per night club for a permit. Some one paying this much for a permit expects to do business. Night clubs can make up this amount in a month or 2. It is big money. The monthly income is about 250,000, with a spending of 50,000. So the net profits per

month is 200,000 YTL. Even the prime minister does not make this every month. So it is a good business.’ (Night Club Manager)

‘When the people involved in bringing the women here arrange for them to come to Cyprus, they spend around \$ 2000 on purchasing the women and some on their travel. So once the women get to Cyprus they are in \$3000 debt to their ‘traffickers’. They first have to pay back this debt.’ (TC Man-1)

By using the debt incurred by getting to Cyprus, the boss forces the women to stay and work for the full contract period, while he threatens the women that he will not pay them the full amount they should receive if they leave early. This eliminates any means of escape for the women, since they know that if they want to leave and if they can find a way to escape, that would mean that they would have worked all this time for free. Considering the violence and the bad conditions they live in, not many women are willing to forgo their well deserved earnings.

Forced Labor and violence

After debt bondage the second most important human rights violence is forced labor. Women are forced to be with many men each day. There are quotes from the interviews we have conducted that shows that some women can be with up to 10 men per day.

Taxi drivers confirmed the fact that women are beaten up by their bosses. This violence was portrayed as a ‘disciplinary punishment’ to make women obey orders by the bosses or customers.

‘Work. I work all day in the night club. The only time I get to go out is when a client takes me out. They do not even let us go to the supermarket which is around the corner. There are no holidays. The only holiday is when I have my period. Then I don’t go with clients but I still have to work in the night club. I am usually drinking a lot here. When I am home, I don’t drink as much. Especially at night at the night club I want to be drunk so I don’t care as much about what is happening. Once a week we go for hospital controls.’ (FW 2)

In addition to violence from the bosses women are subject to violence from customers as well. Violence happens when the customer is not happy with the service they are getting or wants to force women into something they do not want to do.

‘Q: Is there violence as well?

A: Of course. I mean there is alcohol, drugs, psychopaths... there used to be all the Turkish settlers who didn’t have a place to live, who squatted in the city center for example. They would find some money and end up at the night club. There are people who cut themselves up. Psychopaths... Imagine what the women could do? Nothing.’ (Night Club Manager)

Many different forms of violence have been spoken about by indirect sources, such as beatings, rape, putting out cigarettes on women’s bodies etc. But these have not

been confirmed by the women. None of the women were willing to speak about violence. Although one woman mentioned the fact that they go through a lot of bad things during the day, including violence, but they can trust no one in the night club to talk about them.

‘The women suffer a lot. They are all drug addicts, and they do hurt themselves physically. I think they all need psychological treatment.’ (TC Men1)

Escape: Is it possible?

It is not surprising that many women try to escape from the inhuman treatment they get at the night clubs.

‘Once the women are in Turkey they are told what they will be doing in Cyprus, because they are met there with the intermediary recruiters. Once a woman was flown in from Turkey and she had found out what she would be doing here. They were waiting for her at the airport in Ercan to pick her up, with her name written on board. They did not know how she looked, so she walked past them and disappeared.’ (TC Man-3)

‘Once all 6 of the women employed at a night club escaped. The owner almost went bankrupt.’ (taxi driver- 1)

Women, especially the ones that have worked in the TCC for a long time, tell the new comers that if they want to escape, they need to go to the police.

‘These women come in to work as bar maids and/or hostesses. They go through a one to one interview at the police station as soon as they enter the country. The police unofficially tells them what exactly they will be doing at the night clubs (sex included) and they are given the option to leave. Some women do leave at this stage. Women also know that as soon as they have a problem they can go to the police and the police will immediately send them back home.’ (TC Man-1)

‘When we first come here, we go to the police and they take our passport from us. If there is a problem and we want to leave, we go to the police and they send us back to our country. But the problem with that is that the boss will not pay the amount of money that I have accumulated during my work here. And that is a big problem because it means I have done all this for nothing. So I don’t leave.’ (Foreign Woman 2)

‘Once we have helped a women escape and it was the woman who told us we should take her to the police and that the police would help. We had no idea then but she is now safe and abroad. When we first tried to help her, we offered her pimp \$8000 in return for her release but the pimp did not accept. So then we went to the police.’ (TC Man 1)

‘The only way to escape is to go to the police.’ (Taxi driver 2)

It is also not surprising to see women escape when they are at their hospital checks because this may be the only time they are out of the night club. Some night clubs allow women to go out with clients to hotels or other places while others do not allow this.

‘Some women escape when they are taken to the hospital for health checks.’ (taxi driver- 1)

‘One woman was beaten up by a client and was taken to the hospital. She then escaped from the hospital.’ (taxi driver-2)

Health Risks

The health risks for the women as well as the society in general are huge at these night clubs. Only the hostesses are taken in regular health checks. The hospital employee interviewed said that bar maids used to be checked regularly in the past but currently this was not the case.

Women are in no position to make their clients use protection. The common practice is that if a man is a ‘regular’ customer, he will not have to use protection.

‘The health officials check these women every week. Each night club is assigned a day during the week when they take the women in to have their regular blood check and everything. When the women first come in, they stay in the hospital for 2 days and all their tests are carried out.’ (TC Man-1)

Night Club Statistics

There have been some official statistics on night clubs quoted in the TC press while this study was being carried out. Kıbrıs Newspaper dated 7 April 2006 and Yenidüzen Newspaper dated 25 April 2006, quoted official figures on the numbers of night clubs and pubs:

As of 25 January 2006, these are the statistics on Night Clubs and Pubs:

	Night Clubs	Pubs
Nicosia	20	8
Famagusta	10	
Kyrenia	7	
Morphou	8	1
Iskele	1	
TOTAL	46	9

Additionally, these are the official figures on number of hostesses as quoted by Kıbrıs Newspaper:

	# of hostesses
Moldova	272
Ukrain	31
Russian	7
Kyrgyzstan	2
Tajikistan	2
Uzbekistan	3
Kazakhstan	3
Kenya	1
TOTAL	321

The police department gave us a figure of 382 when we asked about the total number of women working in night clubs and pubs. Women working in pubs are employed as bar maids. Bar maids are not subject to the same legal procedures as hostesses, and are not subject to the regular health checks. But the general understanding is that bar maids perform similar services as hostesses that work in night clubs.

Incomes generated:

In addition to the monthly profit figure of 200,000 YTL laid out by the night club manager we have interviewed, we have come across the following figures in the TC Press:

The Kibris Newspaper report also quoted a figure of 3.3 million YTL per 6 months as the income generated for the public authorities from night clubs. (\$ 2,200,000 per 6 months) Similarly, the same report suggests that one hostess who works in the TCC on a 6 month contract pays the authorities a total of 10,000 YTL (about \$ 6,700) during a contract of 6 months.

How much does services cost at a night club?

'It depends on the time. 11am-5pm it is 130YTL. 5-10 pm: 130 YTL. You have to bring the women back by 9 or 10 pm depending on the night club. If you want to take her out for the night (1:30- 9am) then the rate is 180 YTL. Generally the rates vary by place and between 150 and 200 YTL.

Then you can buy women drinks. A small beer for example is 25 YTL. They have to finish their drinks within 15 minutes. When you get a small champagne, that costs 40 YTL.' (TC Men 1)

Police Raids:

There are regular police raids to night clubs. This is a very common occurrence and we have observed this also from the press monitoring exercise.

In May 2006, there were 35 different pieces of news clippings on police raids and night clubs. It was interesting to see the raids peak during this month because before and after May 2006, there were less than half as many raids on average per month in the press. This increase in the number of police raids was interpreted many different ways in the TC Press:

- Afrika, p. 4, 4 May 2006
- Halkın Sesi, p. 11, 30 May 2006
- Yenidüzen, p. 2, 5 June 2006
- Yenidüzen p. 6, 28 November 2006

During one of our interviews with a woman we hired out of a night club, we were told that there would be a police raid later that day and that the woman had to be back in the night club earlier than usual.

Additionally, night clubs have also found creative means of protecting themselves from police raids.

'Night club owners have some precautions they take to avert the danger of police raids. For example we employ a few more people than needed and they work as guards at the road junction where the road turns into the night club. This guard then calls the night club and tells them that the police are coming, who then inform the girls. This is how it works.' (Night Club Manager)

New generation of night clubs:

Since the legislation on night clubs entered into force, night clubs are being forced to move out of the city centers.

‘In the past the night clubs were all within the city limits. After the new legislation they were moved. Nicosia night clubs moved to Alayköy and Haspolat. Similarly Girne night clubs were sent to Lapta.’ (Night Club Manager)

This transition is also leading to a shift in the style of night clubs in the TCC. While the old style night clubs were small clubs without any accommodation places associated with them, the newly constructed night clubs are large premises with accommodation places and tall walls around them. Outdoor swimming pools are not uncommon to see in night clubs in Nicosia.



An example to an Old Style Night Club



An example to a New Style Night Club

While night clubs are making this transition, they are also increasing their standards and thus their potential to employ a higher number of women.

CONCLUSION

‘There was a virgin who would have been sold for \$10,000 for her first time. She was taken to the hospital, where she found out what she would be doing and she went crazy. She cried and refused to stop crying. The police told the boss that he has to send her back. The girl was sent back.’ (Taxi driver- 1)

This study can safely conclude that women trafficking exists in the TCC. While the police efforts to rescue women who complain have been reported by many interviewees, a lot remains to be done in terms of ending the human rights abuses suffered by the women working in night clubs in the TCC.

Our study should only be seen as the first step in trying to uncover the lid of the unknown box of women trafficking in the TCC.

As it can be seen from the example above, a lot more remains to be unknown such as:

- What happens to the women who get sent back? Do they actually reach home safely?
- What happens to the women who go back?
- What are the attitudes towards women trafficking in the TCC?
- What goes on in the Coffee shops
- Are there other forms of trafficking that take place in the TCC